

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-07

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AID-05 EB-07 COME-00 TRSE-00 ( ISO ) W

----- 028343

O R 191015Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA

TO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI

SECSTATE WASHDC 8778

C O N F I D E N T I A L NDJAMENA 2956

FOR PARIS PASS POL/MELONE FOR AMBASSADOR LITTLE

E O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CD, FR

SUBJ: FRANCO/CHADIAN RELATIONS ON EVE TOMBALBAYE VISIT PARIS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: TOMBALBAYE FIRST VISIT PARIS FOUR YEARS  
WILL BE BRIEF, PROBABLY LARGELY PROTOCOLARY IN VIEW MIXED  
COMMISSION MEETINGS SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER; AND POSSIBLY DESIGNED  
LARGEY TAKE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPRESS ON NEW GOVERNMENT WHICH  
JETISONED FOCCART THAT WHATEVER COOPERATION MAY COME IN FUTURE MUST  
BE CHANNELLED THROUGH TOMBALBAYE. END SUMMARY.

2. ITINERARY: PRESIDENT TOMBALBAYE ANNOUNCED OCT 26 THAT HE  
WOULD PAY AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO FRANCE AND MEET WITH PRESIDENT Giscard  
d'Eestaing on November 20. IT WILL BE FIRST VISIT PRESIDENT TO PARIS  
SINCE 1971. IN PREPARATION FOR HIS TRIP, PRESIDENT TOMBALBAYE  
MADE A SURPRISE VISIT TO TRIPOLI ON NOVEMBER 10-11, PRESUMABLY  
TO DISCUSS REBEL ACTIVITY AND LONG-RUMORED LIBYAN FINANCIAL AID.  
TOMBALBAYE LEFT NDJAMENA FOR RABAT NOV 15, AND IS EXPECTED TO  
PROCEED PARIS NOV 18. HE IS TO LEAVE PARIS NOV 22 OR 23 DI-  
RECTLY FOR ZAIRE, WHERE HE WILL PROBABLY PARTICIPATE NOV 24

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NATIONAL DAY FESTIVITIES.

3. BACKGROUND: THERE IS LITTLE QUESTION BUT THAT FRANCO/CHADIAN RELATIONS HAVE IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY IN LAST SIX MONTHS. THE SUMMER OF 1973 WAS MARKED BY PUBLIC PRESIDENTIAL ACCUSATIONS OF FRENCH MILITARY OFFICERS COMPLICITY IN ANTI-TOMBALBAYE ASSASSINATION PLOTS AND FOUNDING OF MNRCs IN AUGUST 1973 WAS CHARACTERIZED BY PRESIDENTIAL DIATRIBE AGAINST CERTAIN FRENCH ELEMENTS (NOTABLY JACQUES FOCCART), AND POLICIES. FROM AUGUST UNTIL JANUARY THIS YEAR THEN-FRENCH AMBASSADOR WIBAUX DID NOT HAVE PRIVATE SUBSTANTIVE MEETING WITH TOMBALBAYE. FRANCO/CHADIAN MIXED COOPERATION TALKS IN NDJAMENA IN JAN-FEB WERE APPARENTLY COOL BUT REASONABLY SUCCESSFUL. VEILED WARNING TO FRENCH THAT THEY IN CHAD ON SUFFERANCE AT OPENING PARLIAMENT EARLY APRIL AND CHADIAN DELIBERATE SNUB OF IGNORING PARIS AND NDJAMENA MEMORIAL SERVICES FOR POMPIDOU LATER SAME MONTH WERE LAST PUBLIC EXPRESSION DISSATISFACTION WITH FRENCH ON PART GOC; SAVE FOR EDITORIAL BOMBAST AGAINST LE MONDE 2 NOV ARTICLE APPARENTLY CRITICAL CHADIAN INITIATION RITES; ELECTION GISCARD-D'ESTAING, DISMISSAL FOCCART, APPOINTMENT WITH NEW FRENCH AMB TO CHAD, AND GREAT FRENCH PATIENCE WITH CHADIAN POSITION ON FRENCH HOSTAGES CAPTURED AT BARDAI IN LATE APRIL HELP ACCOUNT FOR IMPROVING CHADIAN ATTITUDE. THIS REFLECTED BY MODERATE TOMBALBAYE SPEECH AT AUGUST 1974 FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF MNRCs WHICH DEALT WITH ECONOMIC DREAMS RATHER THAN FOREIGN POLITICAL NIGHTMARES.

4. FRENCH VIEW RELATIONS WITH CHAD: THE FRANCO/CHADIAN MIXED COMMISSION IS SCHEDULED TO MEET IN NDJAMENA IN DECEMBER TO REVIEW ALL ASPECTS OF FRANCO/CHADIAN RELATIONS INCLUDING MILITARY. PRESUMABLY ANY IMPORTANT FRENCH CHANGES OF POLICY WILL AWAIT FINDINGS FRENCH MEMBERS THIS COMMISSION. AT MOMENT, FRENCH VIEWS SEEM AS FOLLOWS:

A. MILITARY: SENIOR FRENCH MILITARY IN CHAD CONTINUE CONSIDER CHAD AS STRATEGICALLY ESSENTIAL TO FRENCH MILITARY POSTURE WEST AFRICA. THIS CONVICTION REINFORCED BY WITHDRAWAL FRENCH FORCES FROM NIGER FOLLOWING COUP, ANA APPEARS BE SHARED BY SENIOR FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICERS, ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE SOMEWHAT LESS ACCEPTED AS ARTICLE FAITH AMONG MORE SENIOR CIRCLES PARIS. NONETHELESS, BARRING ANY DRASTIC DETERIORATION CHADIAN MILITARY POSITION AGAINST REBELS IN NORTH AND NORTHEAST, EXPECT FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE CHAD CONTINUE DECLINE SLOWLY AS SCHEDULED.

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B. POLITICAL: FRENCH AMBASSADOR TOUZE, WHEN ASKED DEFINE FRENCH INTERESTS CHAD LAST WEEK, BEGAN BY NOTING THAT FRANCE HAD NEGLECTED CHAD POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY DURING COLONIAL PERIOD, AND WHILE FRANCE CANNOT UNILATERALLY MAKE CHAD INTO MODERN COUNTRY, IT HAS CONTINUING OBLIGATION ASSIST TOWARDS THIS END. THIS ATTITUDE, ALTHOUGH PROBABLY OF LESSENING IMPORTANCE OVER THE YEARS, REMAINS SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN FRENCH/CHADIAN RELATIONS. FRENCH, WHILE FULLY COGNIZANT OF SHORTCOMINGS AND IRRITATED BY FRUSTRATIONS

TOMBALBAYE ADMINISTRATION, APPEAR CONTENT SEE IT CONTINUE, IF ONLY FOR LACK SUITABLE ALTERNATIVE. TOUZE CONSIDERS THAT TOMBALBAYE'S PRINCIPAL FEAR AT MOMENT IS THAT OF ENCROACHMENT FROM ARAB AND ISLAMIC NEIGHBORS. IT IS A VALID ENOUGH FEAR, CERTAINLY, AND ONE WHICH FRENCH LIKELY SHARE. DESPITE INCREASING RUMORS REGARDING MODERN ARMAMENTS AND NUMBER REBEL GROUPS OPERATING IN EAST, FRENCH DO NOT SEEM UNDULY CONCERNED CURRENT LEVEL INTERNAL THREATS TO STABILITY.

C. ECONOMIC: IN 1971 TOTAL FRENCH ASSISTANCE TO CHAD (BUDGETARY, FINANCIAL, MILITARY) TOTALLED ABOUT DOLS 38 MILLION. WITH SUBSEQUENT DECREASES IN MILITARY SPENDING OFFSET BY INFLATION, WE ESTIMATE THAT CURRENT SPENDING IS PROBABLY ABOUT THE SAME LEVEL. FRANCE IN THE 1960'S OCCASSIONALLY BOUGHT MORE FROM CHAD THAN IT SOLD TO CHAD, BUT MORE RECENTLY TRADE BALANCE HAS BEEN HEAVILY IN FAVOR FRANCE (1973 FRENCH EXPORTS 134 MILLION FRENCH FRANCS; IMPORTS 64 MILLION), DUE IN PART, OF COURSE TO DROUGHT. EVEN PRESUMING SUBSTANTIAL FRENCH CREDIT ON INVISIBLES, THERE LITTLE DOUBT THAT FRENCH NET CONTRIBUTION CHADIAN ECONOMY REMAINS SIZABLE. ACCORDING AMBASSADOR TOUZE, HOWEVER, GOF FORESEES NEITHER SIZABLE INCREASE OR DECREASE IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE. TOMBALBAYE, WHO HAD HOPED BE ABLE APPROACH POMPIDOU LAST JANUARY TO MAKE PERSONAL APPEAL FOR SIZABLE GOF CASH GRANT, IS THUS LIKELY BE DISSAPPOINTED IF HE HAS NOT ALREADY BEEN DISSUADED FROM HIGH EXPECTATIONS.

5. CHADIAN VIEWS RELATIONS WITH FRANCE: TOMBALBAYE, MOST NOTABLY IN OCT 26 PRESS CONFERENCE, BUT IN OTHER PUBLIC DISCOURSES AS WELL, HAS CONSISTENTLY STRESSED SAME SEVERAL POINTS REGARDING FRANCO/CHADIAN RELATIONS: IN PAST, CERTAIN CHADIAN AND FRENCH ELEMENTS BOTH IN CHAD AND IN FRANCE HAVE CONSPIRED WITH SOME SUCCESS TO HARM TOMBALBAYE'S RELATIONS WITH GOF; THESE CIRCLES DISCREDITED AND "THERE ARE NOW NO CLOUDS OR MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN FRANCE AND CHAD;" AUTHORITY OF PRESIDENT OF CHAD COMES FROM PEOPLE OF CHAD

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AND NOT "FROM PARIS, NEW YORK, OR WORLD BANK;" ONLY PRESIDENT SPEAKS FOR CHAD AND FRANCO/CHADIAN RELATIONS WILL BE DETERMINED BY TWO PRESIDENTS. TOMBALBAYE HAS NOT INDICATED PUBLICLY WHAT HE WILL WISH DISCUSS WITH FRENCH, ALTHOUGH GENERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH AT LEAST PRO FORMA REQUEST INCREASED ASSISTANCE, POSSIBLY FOR COTTON PRODUCTION, SEEM LIKELY. GIVEN SCHEDULED DECEMBER VISIT TO CHAD OF FRENCH MEMBERS OF MIXED COMMISSION, HOWEVER, SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT TOMBALBAYE WILL EXPECT ANY IMMEDIATE DECISIONS ON IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. COMMENT: TOMBALBAYE PRESENTATION OF HIMSELF AS MODERN SUN KING MEANT FOR FRENCH (ND OTHER FOREIGN) AS WELL AS CHADIAN LISTENERS. HE HAS LONG FELT PERSONALLY BITTER, ACCORDING WELL-INFORMED FRENCH SOURCES, THAT FRENCH HAVE DENIGRATED CHAD AND HIMSELF IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER MORE FAVORABLY ENDOWED AREA STATES AND, POSSIBLY WITH THE PROSPECT OF POTENTIAL PETROLEUM DISCOVERIES IN

MIND, HE DETERMINED TO IMPRESS HIMSELF AND HIS COUNTRY UPON CONSCIOUSNESS NEW FRENCH GOVERNMENT. THUS, FOR TOMBALBAYE, SUCCESS OF VISIT MAY DEPAND AS MUCH ON PERSONAL AND PRESTIGE ASPECTS AS ON CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS.

6. FOR PARIS: AMBASSADOR LITTLE: FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO CHAD RAPHAEL-LEONARD TOUZE, WHO IN PARIS UNTIL NOV 22, SAID IF YOU WOULD LIKE GET IN TOUCH WITH HIM DURING YOUR STAY PARIS HE CAN BE REACHED AT CERCLE MILITAIRE, PLACE ST. AUGUSTIN, TEL LA BORDE 71-50.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptoning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, HEAD OF GOVERNMENT VISITS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 NOV 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** CollinP0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** CollinP0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 01 MAY 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <01 MAY 2002 by cunninfx>; APPROVED <18 MAR 2003 by CollinP0>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FRANCO/CHADIAN RELATIONS ON EVE TOMBALBAYE VISIT PARIS  
**TAGS:** PFOR, CD, FR, (TOMBALBAYE)  
**To:** PARIS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005